

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GABORO 01148 01 OF 02 241703Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 IO-13 /078 W
-----041115 241735Z /43

O P 241529Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2064
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DARESSALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GABORONE 1148

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV RH BC
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: MUZOREWA VISIT TO BOTSWANA

REF: A) GABORONE 1134 B) GABORONE 1133

1. SUMMARY: MINEXTAFF MOGWE, ACCOMPANIED BY SENIOR
PRIVATE SECRETARY LEGWAILA AND PERMSEC MPOTOKWANE, BRIEFED
UK AND NIGERIAN AND ZAMBIAN HIG COMS AND MYSELF
ON APRIL 24 ON RESULTS OF BISHOP MUZOREWA'S VISIT APRIL 21
(REFTELS). MEETING WAS MARKED BY WHAT MOGWE CALLED
MUZOREWA'S "UNBELIEVABLY NAIVE" ATTITUDE ON ESSENTIAL
POINTS. THERE WAS NO PERCEPTIBLE CHANGE IN THE VIEWS OF
EITHER SIDE. PRESIDENT KHAMA WARNED MUZOREWA HE SHOULD
ATTEND ALL-PARTIES MEETING. IF MUZOREWA PERSISTED ON HIS PRESENT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GABORO 01148 01 OF 02 241703Z

COURSE GOB WOULD HOLD HIM RESPONSIBLE FOR FUTURE
INCURSIONS. MUZOREWA SAID EXECUTIVE COUNCIL WAS
CONSIDERING PROPOSED ALL-PARTIES MEETING AND WOULD
REPLY THIS WEEK. END SUMMARY.

2. MOGWE SAID VISIT WAS RESULT OF MUZOREWA'S
INITIATIVE; HE HAD ASKED TO BRIEF PRESIDENT KHAMA ON

INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. (MINEXTAFF OFFICIALS SAID PRIVATELY THERE WAS AN EARLIER INVITATION; MUZOREWA TOOK THE INITIATIVE TO ACCEPT IT NOW.) IN THE COURSE OF HIS OPENING PRESENTATION, MUZOREWA MADE THE FOLLOW-INT POINTS:

A) MUZOREWA RECOGNIZED THAT INTERNAL SETTLEMENT TALKS HAD NOT BEEN "WELL RECEIVED". THIS WAS NOT FIRST TIME HE NOTED, AND PROCEEDED TO REVIEW HISTORY OF PREVIOUS MEETINGS WITH SMITH WHICH HAD BEEN EQUALLY UNPOPULAR;

B) THE INTERNAL TALKS WERE "BASED ON THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS". ASKED IN WHAT WAY, MUZOREWA SAID THE PARTIES RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR WHITES IN POST-INDEPENDENCE ECONOMY AND IN OTHER WAYS, AS PREMISE WHICH UNDERLIES AGREEMENT ON RETRENCHED SEATS. (HICOM TURNER TOOK EXCEPTION TO ALLEGED RELEVANCE OF AAP; MOGWE SAID GOB WAS ALSO SURPRISED AT THE REFERENCE);

C) MUZOREWA NOTED A "PACKAGE" HAD BEEN AGREED UPON; NOW THEY DO NOT WANT TO DISMANTLE IT;

D) A KEY NEW PHASE IS DEVELOPMENT OF RECEPTION CENTERS WHERE RETURNING GUERRILLA FIGHTERS CAN BE DEMOBILIZED AND RETURNED TO CIVILIAN LIFE. THIS CONCEPT (ACCORDING TO MUZOREWA) IS BASED ON CONVICTION THAT ONLY A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF GUERRILLAS ARE LOYAL TO INDIVIDUALS; THAT "MOST ARE FIGHTING TO LIBERATE ZIMBABWE" UNDER ONE-MAN ONE-VOTE SYSTEM

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GABORO 01148 01 OF 02 241703Z

OF MAJORITY RULE;

E) WHEN RECEPTION CENTERS ARE READY, MUZOREWA WILL ISSUE CALL AND GUERRILLAS WILL LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS WHICH WILL RESULT IN CEASE-FIRE;

F) MUZOREWA ASKED BOTSWANA TO SUPPORT INTERNAL TALKS AND "FACILITATE RETURN OF REFUGEES WHEN CEASE-FIRE IS ANNOUNCED".

3. PRESIDENT KHAMA TOOK THE LEAD IN REPLYING AS FOLLOWS:

A) BOTSWANA'S POSITION IS TO SEEK SETTLEMENT ACCEPT-ABLE TO ALL PEOPLE IN ZIMBABWE. PRESENT INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO FL STATES, TO OAU AND TO UN. IT WILL NOT SUCCEED IN HALTING FIGHTING;

B) BOTSWANA DOES NOT WANT A PROLONGED WAR. TO AVOID IT, "OTHERS" WILL HAVE TO BE BROUGHT IN. LIBERATION FORCES CANNOT SUCCEED WITHOUT POPULAR SUPPORT. IF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IS POPULAR, WHY IS THERE "AN AVALANCHE OF PEOPLE FLEEING THE COUNTRY?". MUZOREWA REPLIED THAT FIGHTING GOES ON AND PEOPLE ARE FLEEING THE FIGHTING. THOSE RETURNING ARE, ACCORDING TO EXISTING RULES TO BE SHOT. PF WAS INVITED TO PARTICIPATE;

THEY ARE STILL WELCOME TO PARTICIPATE;

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GABORO 01148 02 OF 02 241729Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 IO-13 /078 W
-----041283 241734Z /43

O P 241529Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2065
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DARESSALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GABORONE 1148

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

C) PRESIDENT KHAMA ASKED WHAT MADE MUZOREWA THINK
WHEN HE ASKS PF GUERRILLAS TO COME BACK THAT THEY WILL
RESPOND. NO SENSIBLE POLITICAL LEADER OVERESTIMATES
HIS SUPPORT; MUZOREWA MUST BE KIDDING HIMSELF;
D) KHAMA SAID IT WAS "VITAL" THAT MUZOREWA ATTEND
ALL-PARTIES MEETING AND SHOULD MAKE KNOWN HIS
ACCEPTANCE "EVEN AT THIS LATE STAGE". EXECUTIVE
COUNCIL COULD ATTEND WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS; THERE
WAS NO NEED TO "DISMANTLE" WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED.
IT WAS AN "OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL TO INTERACT". STAYING
AWAY WILL NOT ACHIEVE ANYTHING; ON THE OTHER HAND
MUZOREWA COULD BE "INSTRUMENTAL" IN GETTING OTHERS TO
ALL-PARTIES MEETING. MUZOREWA REPLIED THAT HE AND OTHERS WOULD
CONSIDER THE PROPOSAL "LIKE MATURE MEN";
E) PRESIDENT KHAMA STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF INTER-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GABORO 01148 02 OF 02 241729Z

NATIONAL COMMUNITY SUPPORT WITHOUT WHICH SANCTIONS WOULD NEVER BE LIFTED. IN ADDITION, IF MUZOREWA DID NOT ATTEND, GOB WOULD HOLD HIM RESPONSIBLE FOR FUTURE INCURSIONS.

4. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS, MOGWE MADE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A) HE BELIEVED MUZOREWA HAD BEEN FORCED TO THINK AND THAT THERE MAY HAVE BEEN SOME PROGRESS IN GETTING HIM TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF ATTENDING ALL-PARTIES MEETING;

B) MUZOREWA SAID HE CAME TO BOTSWANA AS PRESIDENT OF UANC. MOGWE ASKED HIM WHERE THE "WHITE SECURITY OFFICER" WITH HIM CAME FROM. WHEN MUZOREWA REPLIED "FROM STATE SECURITY", MOGWE ASKED SINCE WHEN UANC PRESIDENT HAD THE RIGHT TO STATE SECURITY OFFICER;

C) IN RESPONSE TO ACCUSATIONS THAT MUZOREWA WAS NOW PART OF "SMITH RACIST MINORITY REGIME" THE BISHOP REPLIED "I REALIZE THAT". HE ALSO ACCEPTED CO-RESPONSIBILITY AT PRESENT FOR CONTINUING ACTIONS AGAINST GUERRILLAS (FREEDOM FIGHTERS);

D) PRIVATELY, NYANDORO TOLD LEGWAILA THAT "IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR SITHOLE AND CHIRAU, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER SETTLEMENT TERMS";

E) MUZOREWA SAID NKOMO CONTROLS FIVE PERCENT OF "LIBERATION FORCES" IN RHODESIA; MUGABE CONTROLS TEN PERCENT. THE REMAINING 85 PERCENT ARE NOW REPEAT NOW BEING FED BY MUZOREWA'S SUPPORTERS AT COST OF \$20,000 PER DAY. MUZOREWA STOPPED SHORT OF SAYING 85 PERCENT WERE LOYAL TO HIM. (ZAMBIAN HICOM COMMENTED HE COULD NOT BELIEVE MUZOREWA WAS NOURISHING GUERRILLAS WHO ARE FIGHTING THE GOVERNMENT OF WHICH MUZOREWA IS A MEMBER.);

F) MUZOREWA SAID CEASE-FIRE HAD TO

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GABORO 01148 02 OF 02 241729Z

PRECEDE ELECTIONS; THEREAFTER, HE BELIEVES PF WILL RESPOND TO HIS CALL, RETURN TO RHODESIA AND "THIS WILL END THE WAR";

G) MUZOREWA SAID A CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE WAS NOW AT WORK, NOTING IT WAS BORROWING HEAVILY FROM THE BOTSWANA CONSTITUTION;

H) AS FOR CONCERN ABOUT INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTABILITY, MUZOREWA SHOWED SENSITIVITY TO NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL APPROVAL. HE HOPES "SUCCESSIVE GESTURES" WILL PROVE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT HAS POPULAR SUPPORT AND THAT DECEMBER 31, 1978 WILL BRING INDEPENDENCE IN MANNER ENTIRELY CREDIBLE TO OUTSIDE WORLD.

5. COMMENT: MOGWE SAID GOB WAS STRUCK BY MUZOREWA'S
"UNBELIEVABLE NAIVETE"; HE SEEMS TO "BELIEVE EVERY-
THING HE SAYS"--THAT A CALL FROM MUZOREWA WILL BRING
PF FORCES BACK, THAT FORCES ARE NOT LOYAL TO
INDIVIDUALS BUT TO CONCEPT OF INDEPENDENCE WHICH HAS
BEEN WON IN PRINCIPLE AND WHICH EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
CAN MAKE CREDIBLE. MOGWE FOUND HIGHT OF MUZOREWA'S
LACK OF SOPHISTICATION IN THE ASSERTION THAT
"SMITH IS STILL PRIME MINISTER BUT HAS NO POWER",
THAT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL TRULY EMBODIES THE AUTHORITY
OF THE REGIME.
NORLAND

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: VISITS, NATIONALISTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978GABORO01148
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780174-1029
Format: TEL
From: GABORONE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780425/aaaaauvi.tel
Line Count: 236
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: b8d5c9a8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 GABORONE 1134, 78 GABORONE 1133
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2873537
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA: MUZOREWA VISIT TO BOTSWANA
TAGS: PDEV, RH, BC, (MUZOREWA, ABEL)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b8d5c9a8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014